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The Common Cause

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All MSS. and letters relating thereto should be addressed to the Editor, The Common Cause, *Evelyn House, 62, Oxford Street, W. 1. Telephone: Museum 2702.]*

Notes and News.

Our Newspaper.

In the leading article this week our readers have their attention specially drawn to "Women's Part in the Newspaper World." Women who wish to influence public opinion through the newspaper Press must use to the utmost the journals whose columns are already open to them. Members of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies are in the fortunate position of having a journal of their own. The Common Cause, like all human achievements, falls short of its highest ideals. But the more freely it is used by members of the Union as an instrument of their thought, the more it will gain in brightness, suppleness and variety. We are on the eve of a chapter of political history which will be momentous for all, and quite especially for women, who will shortly exercise that right of voting which has cost them efforts and sacrifices untold. Suffragists, no longer obliged, as in the past, to concentrate all their thought upon one subject, will now seek in many different ways to gain the "Equality of Oportunity" which is the prime object of the Union. The widened scope of women's public interests will find, we hope, full representation in the pages of The Common Cause this winter. We hope at an early date to publish an important article by Mrs. Henry Fawcett which will focus women's ideas upon some of the central thoughts of our time. We are also promised contributions from experts on many of the questions connected with the position of women as wage-earners, which must be settled with real equity if they are not to give rise to serious trouble.

Our Programme.

We publish under Headquarters Notes a summary of the "Objects and Programme" which the National Union adopted at its annual Council meeting last March. Not only to members of the National Union but to the political world generally this programme should be widely known. The objects which the Union, as a great organised body of feminist workers, sets before itself can hardly be won simultaneously. But when a few of the objects are gained the others will fall easily into the hand. Two of the objects are "key" objects. One of these is the eligibility of women for Parliament. When the National Union has some of its own members in the House of Commons it will be able to bring its desires and arguments before Parliament and the country. Those desires being inherently reasonable and just, there is no cause to fear that they will be frustrated. It is, therefore, a key object of the Union that a Bill enabling women to become M.P.'s should be passed without delay. The other key object is the principle of Equal Pay. The system of paying two prices for the same work is one which must result in injury to everybody. The idea that woman is a cheap, inferior worker contributes enormously to degrade and humiliate womanhood, and leads indirectly to many of those other humiliations against which social and moral reformers rightly protest.

Real Health Insurance.

The necessity for the establishment of a real Ministry of Health becomes more and more apparent to those who consider the matter. The present system of national health insurance does not work at all satisfactorily in the case of women. It may possibly be better to have the present system than none: on this we express no opinion, but it is at present tantalisingly incomplete. Insured women wage-earners receive in many instances only the fractional amount of time and attention which an overworked panel doctor can spare them; and when they are seriously ill it not infrequently happens that the employer feels morally obliged to call in at his own expense a private practitioner. It may, however, be said that if the insured women wage-earners are indifferently doctored, the non-insured women (amongst whom married women are numerous) often receive no medical attendance at all. We look, therefore, to our new Minister of Health (whenever we get him) with the aid of a highly qualified staff of advisers to take the national health in hand.

Shop Assistants and Peeresses.

For a short time shop assistants and peeresses were bracketed equal; but ultimately the peeress has been placed above the shop assistant. That is to say, it was found on second thoughts that the wife of a marquis could have a parliamentary vote although the marquis himself could not. The law decided that though husband and wife are one (as we know so well) yet the wife of a marquis is not exactly the same as a marquis. She may be better, inasmuch as she can have a parliamentary vote, or worse, inasmuch as she has not a seat in the House of Lords; but she is not absolutely a marquis in duplicate. What it means presumably is that if a peer is qualified to be a local elector, his wife gains a parliamentary vote on that qualification. So the peer can enfranchise his wife but is powerless to do it to himself. The women shop asistants are differently placed. If they live outside their employers' premises they are in the same position as other women, and may have votes or not, according to their claims as occupiers. But if they live on the premises of an employer *who also lives there*, then (as Judge Crawford decided in the Edmonton County Court) they are in the same position as resident domestic servants, and cannot be placed upon the register. Women's Suffrage has thus dealt a blow to the "living-in" system of shop employment. It may be possible for shop assistants living in a hostel to get their votes; but the tenure of their rooms would have to be arranged on such a plan as to give to each assistant the rights and privileges of an occupier.

A November Council Meeting.

Since a General Election must take place soon, and the N.U.W.S.S. must decide the election policy to be followed by the Union, the Executive Committee is calling a Council Meeting to be held in Birmingham, by invitation of the Birmingham Women's Suffrage Society, from November 27th to the 29th. Further details will be found under "Headquarter Notes." Most important business will be considered on this occasion.

WOMEN'S PART IN THE NEWSPAPER WORLD.

THE war which has developed women's powers of work in many professions, has done little to further the employment of women in the Press. Many reasons may be offered to account for this :—the reduction in the size and output of newspapers, the effect of the war upon many of the advertising trades, and the partial protection from military service accorded to newspaper men. The war has affected the Press by way of contraction rather than expansion. Conditions have been adverse to individual news-seeking. The nation has generally recognised the importance of keeping in step. But marching in step is dull work, especially when one has to keep the most interesting observations to oneself. Whether the adequacy of these reasons is accepted or not, the fact remains that women are not at present taking in journalism the part which they must take if they are to have their chance of carrying the public reforms they desire, and if, indeed, they are to have their chance of simply "saying their say." Members of the National Union and readers of The Common Cause must be actively dissatisfied with the meagre share which women have in the directing of the Press if they hold that this profession with its boundless power, ought to include members of both sexes on equal terms.

Much time is devoted by women to committee work, to the organising of public meetings and conferences, speaking at meetings and listening while other women speak. All these activities are useful. They shape public opinion and form the material whereof newspapers are fashioned. But, too often, the fashioning is left to a comparatively small number of persons who have become so entirely professionalised that they care uncommonly little about anything. We all know the story of the journalist, stopped by the angel Gabriel at the gate of heaven with the question "Are you saved?" who answered "No; I am a reporter." It is not in that spirit of intense neutrality that women should permit their own faiths to be interpreted. But at present women are far too easily content with addressing each other. They are too much boxed in.

We have said that they are content to address each other. But are they? Perhaps they only appear content. To organise a meeting is troublesome and expensive. To speak at one often involves a railway journey, much loss of time, and perhaps the disappointment of composing a speech which will not utter itself when wanted. But women find an opportunity of influencing opinion by means of public speech which, in general, they do not obtain so readily when their vehicle is the Press. Possibly it is to some extent their own fault; but not wholly. Some women miss their newspaper opportunities. They send in a letter or report too late for publication; or their handling of language lacks dexterity, if not grammar. Yet twenty years ago women suffered from all kinds of awkwardnesses and ignorance when they tried to speak in public. They overcame their difficulties by practice. They had a real opportunity where the platform was concerned. Their opportunity in the Press has never been at all so complete.

When we look at this profession of journalism we must turn our gaze towards the top, towards the higher places whence influence descends. Attention has been too much concentrated hitherto upon the reporters' table, and to those ghostly feminine figures "conspicuous by their absence." We must seek elsewhere for the explanation. We must work in other schools than those for shorthand if we are to effect our main purpose :—the admission of women to the inner courts of journalism. The directors of women's training might multiply the number of competent women verbatim note-takers by ten or twenty : they would still not have gained any great hold upon the Press.

The Press is subject to various powers, of which the power of the individual mind of the writer is one. But the strongest powers by which it is affected are the political and the commercial. Political power is the force which dominates all journals that are newspapers in the strictest sense of the word. In some cases the political power may be latent, invisible : it is the power which will wake into activity shortly, when those now down are enthroned. There are parties and groups who have, as it were, a reversionary title to political power when the present potentates are gone. For journalistic purposes they count; and their post-dated cheques may be as good as the other people's ready money. But towards those who have no political power, actual or prospective, the political (as distinguished from the commercial) Press is not an instrument or an inheritance. It may be a firm employing the worker as labourer, but that is a different matter.

Women have during the past few years been recognised as prospective sharers in political power; for which reason they have acquired a certain, though much too limited participation in the Press. They are now on the eve of possessing political power, actual and indisputable. It is at this moment that women should make a strong endeavour to express themselves through the journalistic medium. As political voters and as workers they must organise themselves. We have given out the watchword, "Organise! Organise! Organise!" and our readers have caught up the cry. The opinion of organisations, if they are sufficiently big and united, always gains attention from the Press. We must have, as we said last week our "Spokeswomen in Parliament." A parliamentary voice, even in softest whisper, carries all over the land. The entry of women into Parliament will do much to promote the further entry of women into journalism, for the woman M.P. who can write, and cares to do so, will have a good position in the newspaper world whenever she chooses to take it. There is one branch of parliamentary journalism from which women have been far too long shut out, namely the work of the Press Gallery writers. There is neither law nor regulation which precludes a woman from taking a place in the Press Gallery; but it happens that the newspapers entitled to Press Gallery seats have hitherto sent men as their representatives. Objections are raised if women in the Ladies' Gallery are seen to be taking notes. The outcome of all these difficulties is that a woman who wishes to report a debate must either transcribe it incorrectly or must emulate the feat of the late Mrs. Crawford of Paris, who was able for a short time to carry a long series of speeches in her memory. Until women journalists have some places assigned to them in the House of Commons the work of Parliament will never be described or criticised to the satisfaction of women citizens; and many important political questions will still be treated inadequately.

The second controlling power over the Press is the commercial power. This power dominates the whole of journalism, whether it be political or non-political. It is the power of making ends meet and lap over with a more or less comfortable margin of profit. A newspaper can only exist as a political or other force if it is supported by a public possessed of spending power. In some cases a journal may be supported by a moneyed, though small public. If a newspaper-reading public is not wealthy, then it must be numerous; and its interests must be varied. It must be confessed that the commercial force in the Press has sometimes treated women with a certain brutality, pressing them back into a life of vanity and narrow interests from which they would gladly have escaped. And it is not clear that commercial interests in general have profited, though a few interests may have done so. The spending powers of women might well have been encouraged to exercise themselves over wider and more productive fields, without in the end injuring the commerce of this country, but quite the contrary. However, we must not now attempt to trace the relation which has existed between the subjection of women, social snobbery, and the unequal distributions of wealth.

What we are concerned to remind women is that their progress in the Press must be on a par with their advance in other departments of public affairs. They must never ignore the power of the printed word. They must enter life by many doors. Of such doors the Press is one

The Vote and Wages.

Does having a vote raise wages? Economists give round-about answers to this question: it is a rise in station which "tends" to raise wages, they say; it gives greater bargaining and organising powers, and so on. But to the ordinary reader of the daily papers things look simpler. Women get votes in February, 1918; from May to July the teachers put up a magnificent fight for equal pay, and win notable advances; in August the 'bus conductresses strike for it and get it. It seems very easy. Everyone applauds: women do the same work, the nation can't get on without them; the public approves, and even the "Times" has a leader on equal pay. Then other women workers begin: railway women, aircraft workers, post-office employees,—in every other region it is simmering too—and the employers begin to get a little nervous. The newspapers begin to hedge: "Do women do the same work?" A Government committee begins to sit; that decisions are given "without prejudice to a future settlement of the whole question." But the thing has gone too far to be stopped. The idea is accepted, and is working its way into innocent minds; the "tendencies" that result from having a vote are at work too, and it is too late to put back the clock. Whatever happens, in fact, and however slowly we actually advance towards it, the belief in equal pay for equal work has taken root in this country, and can never be dislodged again.

But accepting a belief and carrying it into practice are very different things; and, indeed, in this instance we may admit that there are innumerable difficulties to be overcome. What, for instance, *is* equal work? Must you take account of obscure factors such as a "tendency" to marry and leave the job? Or a "tendency" to illness on the part of other women? And how can you judge between a worker who is quick and a worker who is strong? What, in short, *is* equal work? If equal work is difficult to define, what of equal pay? Are you to count the "tendency" of men to marry and support families? The "tendency" of women to live at home? Their well-known "tendency" to nourish themselves on buns and tea? Or the equally decided "tendency" of men towards spirits and tobacco? Is it true that money which is "adequate" for a woman is inadequate for her brother? And if true, is it immutable? It will be long before these things are settled, and many social reforms, apparently unconnected with wages, will come first—communal kitchens, for instance, cheap electricity, decent houses, short working hours, a Ministry of Health, mothers' pensions, perhaps, and nursery schools; and clearly enough the removal of all the legal and other disabilities of women. And as these reforms come, women's wages will "tend" to rise, approximating nearer and nearer to the equality with men's wages to which we now aspire.

But is there, meanwhile, any danger to women in the equal pay campaign? Are they, perhaps, throwing themselves out of employment by securing technically equal pay for equal work which, nominally but not really of equal value? There are feminists who think that this danger is great, and who see in the support of the trade union movement a confirmation of their fears. The men, they argue, only support this equal pay demand because they don't want women competitors, particularly blackleg competitors. And if an employer really has to pay equally, he will employ a man. This is a danger that is real, and an accusation that is partly true. But it is a danger that has very little chance of being formidable; for in spite of votes and strikes, in spite of principles and beliefs, when it comes to actual cash paid out at the end of the week, women do not get equal pay or anything like it. We can indeed press towards it, we can make wages approximate to equality, and here and there, by a fluke, we can perhaps secure it by drastic Trade Union pressure or by the strength of indispensability. But taking employment all round we need not yet be afraid of too much equality for women, or of forcible overpayment. There is a long way still to go before this danger need daunt us, and, in the meanwhile, we must turn ourselves at once to the task of clearing the way for a real equity of payment, and must hasten to obtain all the social reforms that will make it possible; and while we work we can rejoice that votes have led so quickly to wages, and that a belief in the ideal equal pay has really taken root in this country.

RAY STRACHEY.

The Report on Adult Education.*

This Report is a document of first-class importance. The terms of reference expressly excluded technical or vocational education from the field of survey, and the committee was thus free to view the subject of education on its social, perhaps we may venture to say, its spiritual side, unhampered by the interesting but quite different issue of its relation to profits and wages.

"The motion which impels men and women to seek education is partly the wish for fuller personal development . . . . . for knowledge, for self-expression, for the satisfaction of intellectual, æsthetic and spiritual needs, and for a fuller life. It is based upon a claim for the the recognition of human personality. . . . . The motion is also partly social. . . . . The workers . . . . . demand opportunities for education in the hope that the power which it brings will enable them to understand and help in the solution of the common problems of human society."

The Report goes on to give a brief but interesting sketch of the work at present being done, *e.g.*, by the Adult School Movement (dating from the eighteenth century), the Gilchrist Trust, the University Extension Lectures, and the Workers' Educational Association (founded 1903). The specially interesting feature of this last is the fact that it arose from the spontaneous demand of workers themselves, and was founded by a small group of Trade Unionists and Co-operators. The rapid growth of the work of the W.E.A. is a sufficient testimony to the reality of the demand. In 1907 the University Tutorial Class system took shape, beginning at Oxford with a joint committee of representatives of the University and of working class organisations to arrange for the provision of tutorial clases. Besides the societies mentioned, other institutions for adult education exist, such as the various Labour Colleges, of which Ruskin College, Oxford, is the best known; the educational work of co-operative societies; colleges such as Morley College in London, summer schools and vacation classes, and others. The extent and variety of such courses is itself an indication of the enthusiasm and perseverance the students put into the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. It is noted that although a temporary set-back occurred on the outbreak of war, the present activity in adult education is even greater than before the autumn of 1914.

"A large part of this activity has been directed towards the study of the historical background and causes of the war, but attention is now being turned to the problems of Reconstruction."

A great deal is being done in connection with soldiers, both at home and abroad, and in the munition centres.

The number who are thus obtaining help in culture and self-development is, however, small compared with the population, and the Committee admits that "a great mass of people are still untouched by the desire for education, and make no response to the opportunities already provided." In a most interesting section the Report considers the question of the difficulties that beset the would-be, or might-be, students. "Excessive hours of labour form one of the greatest obstacles to adult education." Regulation of hours by the State, even in the case of women and young people, is confined to certain industries, and, among male workers, applies only to miners, though men employed together with women or young persons, in some kinds of factory work, indirectly benefit by the measure of protection afforded, the hours being uniform for all workers.

But even in the case of the workers to whom the Factory Act most fully applies, and in the industries where its provisions are most stringent, the existing limitation of hours is inadequate, the day's work permitted is unduly long (twelve hours, less one and a-half or two hours for meal times, and a half holiday on Saturday). Overtime is still permitted and largely taken advantage of in certain industries; in shops the hours may be 74 a week for young persons, and are unlimited for women. In clerical work there is no regulation at all. Another grave difficulty lies in the practice of working irregular hours, or by shifts and "split turns." Railway workers, for instance, may have to start work at any hour of the night or day, and at recurring intervals have to lodge away from home. Even if the hours, according to present standards, are not excessive, the irregular mode of life, necessitating rest at abnormal times, is of course a serious obstacle to study.

The long hours of girl and young women workers, again, are often exhausting; thus a shop assistant of nineteen is reported as working from nine to seven on three days a week, nine to nine one day, nine to ten one day, with only one half-holiday.

* "Interim Report of the Committee on Adult Education." Cd. 9,107. Signed by the Master of Balliol and others. Presented to the Ministry of Reconstruction. (1918. 3d. net.)

This is by no means a specially bad case, but most people with any appreciation of youth and youthful needs, would hesitate to advise anything but rest or recreation in the scanty leisure afforded. One teacher writes :—

"I never cease to marvel at the efforts and sacrifices made by the men and women who attend my class, considering that in most cases they have been active for twelve to fifteen hours of the day before coming to the class . . . . ten or twelve students come to my class straight from work without tea. For two years I had a class which gave up Saturday afternoons to the work because they were less tired and sleepy."

It is extraordinary, in view of the difficulties these students have to meet, that they show such persistence in application, and it is fairly certain that a large number must be deterred from effort by the social and industrial conditions at present obtaining.

The Committee concludes that "from the point of view of education and of participation in public activities . . . . . one of the greatest needs is the provision of a greater amount of leisure time." They recommend eight hours as the legal maximum working-day, the reduction of overtime and night-work within the narrowest possible limits, and still shorter hours for those whose work is either specially hard and exhausting, or must necessarily be carried on in "shifts" and at irregular hours, such as railway workers and others on continuous processes. Some elasticity would, of course, be needed in agriculture and some other occupations which cannot well be confined to a rigidly defined "normal day." But a vast deal of night work, over-hours, and strain, is not really required by the conditions of industry, but is due to want of thought or lack or directing ability on the part of those responsible. Modern industrial science has dispelled the illusion that long hours are productive, but old traditions die hard, and much needless overtime and fatigue are inflicted on working people as a survival from the industrially "Dark Ages" of a century ago. The Committee, however, does not base its argument solely on the now well-known fact that shorter hours tend to improve output.*

"We frankly say that if the desire for maximum output cannot be realised without robbing the human being of his opportunities for full participation in the organised life of society and its educational facilities, we would unhesitatingly give preference to the satisfaction of the claims of the human being."

An interesting section of the Report is devoted specially to the needs of women, the double strain incurred by many, of industrial work outside, and domestic work inside the home; the irregular hours of domestic servants, and above all, the scarcity of decent housing, the absence of suitable labour-saving arrangements and appliances, which contrive to make the working woman's lot very hard. Women have at last attained the responsibilities of citizenship, and are increasingly feeling the need of education and of a wider horizon of life and experience. It is of the greatest importance that they should take their part in, and contribute their share of experience and knowledge to the vast problems that will come up for settlement after the war. It is the strong conviction of the present writer that that contribution, the best thought and suggestion of working women, will in the future become of the greatest significance. But they cannot make it satisfactorily while they are enslaved by over long hours of work outside the home, or by the lack of plan and convenience within it, a lack for which they are in no way responsible, but which greatly adds to the burden of their lives. They need time to rest, time to think, time to educate themselves. If women, as well as men, are to realize their full possibilities in the future, a strong and united effort is needed. : The Report concludes with some plain warnings :—

"We cannot stand still. We cannot return to the old ways, the old abuses, the old stupidities. . . . . It is not the lack of goodwill that is to be feared. But goodwill without mental effort, without intelligent provision, is worse than ineffectual; it is a moral opiate. The real lack in our national history has been this lack of bold and clear thinking. We have been well-meaning, we have had good principles; where we have fasted is in the courage and the foresight to carry out our principles into our corporate life." But it ends in a note of hope. "It is in our power to make the new era one of such progress as to repay us even for the immeasurable cost, the price in lives lost, in manhood crippled, and in homes desolated . . . . There is stirring through the whole country a sense of the duty we owe to our children and to our grandchildren, to save them not only from the repetition of such a world-war and from the burdens of a crushing militarism, but to save them also from the obvious peril of civil discussion at home. We owe it also to our own dead that they shall not have died in vain, but that their sacrifice shall prove to have created a better England for the future generation."

B. L. HUTCHINS.

* See *e.g.* Lord Henry Bentinck's recent valuable pamphlet on "Industrial Fatigue," reveiwed in THE COMMON CAUSE, June 7th.

The American Crisis.

We publish the following extracts from a most interesting letter which Mrs. Henry Fawcett has received from Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, chairman of the Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission, New York. They cannot properly be appreciated, however, without some understanding of the recent vicissitudes in the fortunes of the Federal Women's Suffrage Amendment to the American Constitution. For the letter was not written either in the calm of achievement, or in the calm of despair, but in a vortex of excitement and uncertainty, with victory in sight but not yet secured; when the importance of events lay not in their occurrence only, but in relation to what had gone before and what might be supposed to lie ahead.

In May, 1918, the resolution proposing the submission to the American States of an equal Suffrage Amendment was unexpectedly and disappointingly postponed. It was postponed because a two-thirds majority is required to pass a constitutional amendment through the Senate, and Women's Suffrage had one pledged supporter too few. It would have been nothing short of folly to have risked the fate of the amendment on the chance conversion (at the last minute) of one wavering Senator. Women's Suffrage has no need to rely on lucky chances. Within a very short time American women had made sure of their two-thirds majority with one vote to spare, and a day was fixed for the discussion of the amendment. Robbed of their hopes of a fair victory, anti-suffrage took refuge in questionable methods. When the amendment was moved, they talked out the time allotted to it, so that it never reached a division, and the pressure of war legislation prevented its being reconsidered next day. Suffragists did not attempt to force its immediate consideration, but with a good and patriotic grace consented to its postponement, merely vowing that when its chance did come, they would out-talk the anti-suffragists, if it took a week to do so! Recent developments are detailed in Mrs. Husted Harper's letter, dated August 28th :—

"Our amendment has now reached an acute stage, and the two parties are watching each other like hungry dogs to see that neither one gets the credit for putting it through. Neither wants to do it but is determined that if the inevitable comes, the other shall not have the credit. We have just suffered another great loss in the death of the Republican Floor Leader, Senator Gallinger, of New Hampshire, who has been our friend in the Senate for twenty-five years. This makes the ninth death for this session an unparalleled record—and seven of these were our supporters. Fortunately, five of these Senators were replaced by suffragists and the Governor of New Hampshire assures us that he will appoint a man in place of Senator Gallinger who will vote for our amendment. Governor Edge, of New Jersey, made the same promise and then appointed Baird, who, in all probability, will vote against the amendment.

"On August 24th the Republicans met in Conference and elected Senator Lodge, our worst enemy, as Floor Leader in place of Senator Gallinger. The same meeting adopted a resolution calling upon the Senate to come to an early vote on the Federal Suffrage Amendment, but at its close Senator Wadsworth, of New York, drew the attention of the reporters to the fact that the Conference did not ask for a "favorable vote," nor endorse the amendment. Of course, had we simply wanted a vote we could have had one months ago, but what we want is a majority vote.

"You have seen President Wilson's letters to Senator Shields, of Tennessee, and Senator Baird, of New Jersey. These are only two of the many that he has written.

"Notwithstanding all drawbacks we have never wavered in our belief that the amendment would go through, and we still expect it to do so after the two great measures now before Congress —the Draft and the Prohibition Bills—are disposed of. It is getting to be a very serious matter all over the country. I am receiving over five hundred editorials a month on the subject, and these represent only a fraction. Very few newspapers are opposed. There never was a public question in this country on which sentiment was so unanimous, if we except those relating to the war. If theRepublican Conference had endorsed the amendment I believe President Wilson would have taken some drastic action in order to secure the credit for the Democratic Party, and we still expect him to do this at the proper time, when the Republicans make it necessary.

"The new Draft Bill has gone through the Senate enabling the President to call out 13,000,000 men if necessary. We are watching with the most intense anxiety the operations of the next few days when the Allied troops will have passed the old

boundary line of the Germans. We are able to furnish the food an the men to win the war, and we expect to do it. We never know from week to week what the Government is going to allow us to eat, but we always know there will be plenty of it, such as it is, and that we are in no danger of starving. Nothing but our wheat has been a real sacrifice. Bread was my staple of life, and I have scarcely touched it for the past year, because I cannot eat what is made out of the substitute for wheat, and this is true of thousands; but we have quantities of excellent potatoes, rice and all other cereals. There is no complaint of any sacrifices we have to make but a great deal of resentment against the "profiteering" in foodstuffs, which is going on in the name of patriotism, and the Government is doing everything in its power to suppress."

Since the writing of this letter a cablegram has been received from Mrs. Husted Harper stating that the prospects of the Senate Vote on September 26th are hopeful.—Ed., The Common Cause.

Relief—Ancient and Modern.

The old order changes, yielding place to new, and nowhere is this more true than in the domain of relief work. It was delightfully simple in ancient days. Good King Wenceslas, informed by his Investigation Committee, *i.e.*, his page, that a poor man was in cold and hunger, straightway took steps, immediate and effective; flesh and wine were called for, pine logs added to the burden, and King and page set forth together, and the old man's wants were "relieved." How simple and delightful! Compare the methods of a modern Relief Committee. Take any typical scene. The group of applicants, mostly women, shawls over the head, often a baby tucked away in the shawl, wait their turn to register. The volunteers who assisted in this had often a sore time. "I know you are forty, Mary, and I see you said you were twenty-nine and that you used to earn fifteen shillings a week!" "Well, miss, and if I did, what business is it of theirs! Bedad, I'm not goin' to tell the Government my age and what I get; and when the paper is filled up, you're not much the betther of it. Sure, it's just information they're lookin' for." In one case, a little toy industry was organised and the ladies who conducted it were beset by applicants who were sadly put about when told they could only be taken on after acceptance by the Relief Committee, as the finances of the factory did not permit of anything in the nature of a maintenance grant. How often the organisers longed for some methods as direct as those of King Wenceslas. He was not distressed by the thoughts of pauperism, nor compelled to keep his bounty waiting until it had been made certain that the distress was "due to the war."

So it was in much later days throughout the whole country. The ladies at "the house,"—there was only one—formed a Voluntary Care Committee, and "the house" was a centre where all forms of relief, medical and otherwise, could be obtained. The dispensary system in Ireland had always been excellent, but often needed the backing and the explanation of "the misthress." An old woman was ordered soda-water, a bottle was sent from "the house," and put on the dresser. "Well, Jean, did you get the soda water?" "Aye, doch-tor, there it's sittin' on the dresser." "What good is that? Give me a cup!" The doctor proceeded to take off the wire, the cork flew out, and broke a teapot, and the soda-water splashed over his shirt-front. Patient (gleefully): "Och, dochtor dear, is that you wanted me to pit intil my inside?" The same long-suffering doctor ordered another patient "animal food." The poor man was in dismay, and confided to his wife, "I mecht wrastle wi' a bran mash, but I cudnae eat hay or straw!" Nor were the sick only within the purview of the house. "Look! see, there's Miss Violet with her barra and spade takin' rose bushes for the cottage gardens, and she'll be round next week to see if they be growin'." A commodious schoolhouse was built, in which there was many a concert in the evening. An Employment Agency was also run, and many a boy and girl found good work through the activity of "the misthress."

Well, it is mostly over now. "The house" for the country dweller means the big dreary building on the hill, from which pine logs come in the form of a bag of coal, and the equivalent of the flesh and wine is the bread and tea, doled out in rather smaller quantities.

Another outcome of modern methods is sometimes met with. "This place is cursed with charities," said a Labour man the other day. "A woman asked me for help and when I said something about work, drew herself up, and said 'No member of our family ever did a day's work, as far as we can trace.'" When the city of To-morrow is built, there will surely be no "house" in the modern sense, in it, for Poor Law will have ceased. There may not be the "great house" for those who dwell in the village of To-morrow, with its Village Councils, Village Hall, and all the other activities which will come. But we are still in the city of To-day, with its chaos of relief, voluntary and official, and its heavy expenditure on Poor Relief and Charities. We have old women in the relief workroom, with a relief grant of five shillings a week, only able to earn an average of five shillings, making a weekly income of ten shillings, who yet refuse obstinately to go into the workhouse. It is a woeful muddle, and there is no short way out. The old feudal relief has gone, the newer official relief has broken down, as it always has done in Ireland under any strain. "Two-thirds of the babies who die do so from sheer starvation," said the woman doctor of the Baby Clubs the other day. The new preventive method has not yet had a chance, but the time will come. "When them upsetty weemen get their way, not a man of us will be let walk down street," said the small boy watching the audience gather to the suffrage meeting. Things may not turn out quite as badly as that, but there will be fewer men and women walking down the street which, to quote Mrs. Sidney Webb, leads straight to the abyss of destitution.

Dora Mellone.

Mrs. HOW MARTYN, B.Sc. (Prospective Independent Parliamentary Candidate for Hendon Division), will open a discussion on **"That it is in the National Interests that Women should be Members of the next Parliament,"** on **Saturday, September 28th, at 3 p.m. in the Minerva Cafe, 144, High Holborn, W.C.** Admission Free. Reserved Seats 1s. Tickets from Minerva Cafe. Discussion Invited.

Education and Mr. Wells.

Joan and Peter: The Story of an Education. By H. G. Wells. (Cassell. 9s. net.)

Mr. Wells's new book, say the publishers, is three times as long as an ordinary novel. That depends, of course, on what you call an ordinary novel. "Joan and Peter" is not three times as long as "Pendennis"—it is shorter than "Pendennis." But it does seem as though in this matter of length we were returning to the habits of our fathers. The length of a book has before now provided the critic with matter for derision: Macaulay solemnly recorded of Dr. Nares's Life of Burghley that it occupied fifteen hundred inches cubic measure, and weighed sixty pounds avoirdupois. Mr. Chesterton, on the other hand, has defended Sir Walter Scott from the charge "that, like the beard of Polonius, he is too long"—observing, sensibly enough: "If romance be really a pleasure, it is difficult to understand the modern reader's consuming desire to get it over, and if it be not a pleasure it is difficult to understand his desire to have it at all." We may fairly say about the discussion of Mr. Wells's 748 pages, as Mr. Birrell said twenty years ago about the discussion as to whether a novel should be in one volume or three, that the reader "does not care whether a book be as long as 'Clarissa Harlowe,' or as short as 'The Luck of Roaring Camp,' provided only and always that it is interesting." Mr. Wells is unfailingly interesting—it is his great quality.

The design of "Joan and Peter" is big—too big. The book is fiction, history, politics, descriptive journalism and educational propaganda all in one. And it has evidently been written too hastily. It contradicts itself in a few details and in several matters that are not details. Oswald Sydenham, who, if not the "hero," is at any rate the dominating character, has won the V.C. at Alexandria long before the story opens, and has had one side of his face blown away at the same time. But Mr. Wells contradicts himself as to which side it is that has gone: and that looks as if he had failed to pause and visualise his own creation clearly. Nor is the abstract speculation more completely satisfying than the concrete visualisation. We are asked by Mr. Wells to regard the war both as the culmination of many symptomatic strains, urgencies, violences and disorders, and as a shaking up or waking up from an era of indolent comfort. I will not argue with Mr. Wells whether it was the one or the other; my point is that it can't conceivably have been both. As in history, so in theology. Mr. Wells presents us once more with his idea of God; but it is a mixed idea. It is an idea of a Power detached and in that sense impersonal, bidding mankind work out its own salvation unaided; and at the same time it is an idea of a Power exercising personal intervention in the scheme of things. "Of one thing I am sure, that man

cannot stagnate," says Peter in the last chapter. "It is forbidden. It is the uttermost sin. Why, the Old Man will come out of his office himself to prevent it!" And this quotation suggests a further question. If, as Mr. Wells alleges, the muddle of the world is largely due to old men in offices, and it is to the young men that we must look to clean things up, why does he choose, as his symbol of divine and ultimate authority, an Old Man in an office? Why not a young man?

I think I can partly anticipate Mr. Wells's answer. One has no right, he would say, to saddle him with Peter's opinions. But that is the whole difficulty of Mr. **Wells's method**. Quite evidently he does mean us to acquire certain opinions by reading his sociological and theological novels. He is nothing if not a propagandist. Yet the opinions are advanced now by this character, now by that; now in the person of the author as distinct from the persons in his story. We can scarcely identify Mr. Wells with Peter, scarcely with Oswald: he is both, he is neither. Thus, at one point, Oswald reflects, when he is contemplating a valedictory message to Peter and Joan:

> The war was an educational breakdown, that was his point; and in education lay whatever hope there was for mankind. He had to say that to them, and he had to point out how that idea must determine the form of their lives. He had to show the political and social and moral conclusions involved in it. And he had to say what he wanted to say in a large manner. *He had to keep his temper while he said it.*

Surely, there, Mr. Oswald *is* Mr. Wells! That is his main theme, the purpose of his book. Let it be frankly admitted that for the most part he says what he wants to say in a large manner—even though he does not always succeed in keeping his temper!

Oswald, after the V.C. episode, has to retire from the Navy for reasons of health, and goes to Africa, where he does excellent constructive work. He returns to undertake the education of Peter and Joan, and is under the impression that what is sauce for Uganda will serve to cook the goose of the reactionaries at home. He soon finds his mistake. He inspects schools and universities, he argues in clubs, he philosophises in bed at night. He, or at any rate he and the trained and matured Peter of the Air Service between them, must be taken as voicing Mr. Wells's theories of education. What *are* those theories? The criticism is almost wholly destructive. The concrete proposals amount to almost nothing. Science, of course, and modern languages, are to displace the classics. Formal logic is to be taught! But that I know Mr. Wells would not condescend to write about that of which he was wholly ignorant, I should be driven to suspect that he didn't know what formal logic was like. By the universal consent of all who have ever studied modern ideas of education (one might say, of all progressive minds since the days when Bacon was busily engaged in not writing Shakespeare), formal logic is the most barren, perversive and stupid of pursuits. The adult mind does not need it, the youthful mind can only be misled by it. It was the invention of Aristotelians who misunderstood Aristotle. No modern teacher who as much as half knew his job would dream of inflicting formal logic on a schoolboy. If—as Mr. Wells rightly desires—the teacher were to teach philosophy, he would take the extreme course of teaching philosophy; he would discard pseudo-philosophy's impedimenta. Again, as to the classics. The main indictment of classical teaching in British schools is unanswered, for the simple and excellent reason that it is unanswerable. The classics are, in the main, badly taught, with excessive attention to grammatical detail and, very often, no attention at all to imaginative or intellectual content. Further, it is admitted that, for a great number of the boys who are compelled to "learn" Latin and Greek, the learning of Latin and Greek is absolutely and for ever out of the question, because those boys do not happen to be made that way. To say so is to cast no discredit upon their capacity. But equally—and this I think is where Mr. Wells goes wrong—it is to cast no discredit upon Latin and Greek. If Mr. Wells confined himself to the unanswerable indictments, we should be delighted at having what we knew before reinforced by the wit and eloquence of someone brilliant and famous enough to enforce the lesson upon others who did *not* know it before. But Mr. Wells goes much further than that. Unless I completely misunderstand him, he intends to deny the fact that Greek literature contains the expression of many of the greatest human minds; and (perhaps I should say *or*) the further fact that that expression of those minds cannot be grasped in translation. He has an incident in which a don quotes Greek at Oswald, and Oswald, who knows that the don knows he knows little Greek, resents it, and retorts by a quotation in Swahili. As a rebuke to discourtesy this is doubtless effective (will Mr. Wells seriously maintain that classical scholars are less courteous than other people?): as an argument against the classics it is poor. I am certainly much more ignorant of Swahili than Mr. Wells is of Greek, but if he will assure me on his honour that the Swahili literature has its Homer and its Plato, I will hasten to urge the teaching of Swahili, if not in our schools, at least in our universities. To imagine that translation can provide any idea of the original is to imagine a vain thing. If Mr. Wells really thinks that a translation, say, of Plato is much the same thing as Plato, he can put his belief to a very easy, and a quite final, test. He has, no doubt, like the rest of us, been driven by intellectual curiosity to tackle a French translation of Shakespeare. Let him ask himself how much Shakespeare he got out of it! Oswald, we are told, "did not at all accept the Aristotelian maxim that man is 'a political animal'." The context, however, shows that Oswald *did* accept it: he thought he didn't only because he didn't understand what Aristotle meant by it. But Oswald would, of course, have been able to make points like this by the hundred against the average classical scholar, if the latter had been foolish enough to venture into the realms of Swahili or of biology. If the classical scholar gets conceited about his classics, and wants to bully other people with them, and professes contempt of science or history, and generally makes a nuisance of himself—then, of course, he deserves the sharp stings of Mr. Wells's satire. But all that is no argument against the preservation of classical studies.

I make no apology for having dwelt so insistently on what may seem minor points. They are important because they are typical. Any big scheme must be made up of little concrete things: reform necessitates reforms. The main end of Mr. Wells's educational reconstruction is social and political; he wants a new conception of civic duty, of imperial responsibility, and he wants the civic and imperial ideals to lead up to the divine. So far, so good. Plato wanted all that too. But Plato told us precisely what he thought we ought to do, in detail, day by day, with children from ten years on—yes, and even from before the age of ten. It is in this essential modernity, this scientific precision, this application of biology to politics, this orderly constructiveness, that our modern prophets have much to learn from the ancients.

One main subject which Mr. Wells tackles with characteristic boldness is the relation of the sexes. He believes profoundly in fundamental differences of temperament and mind between the sexes. Well, the sexes will have to be tested by years of equal opportunity before the scientific investigator will pretend to decide what mental differences (if any) are really fundamental, really implicit in the sex-difference itself, and what are due to mere temporary conventions. But Mr. Wells, even on his own assumption, has little to tell us except that adolescence is a difficult age, that flirtation for the sake of excitement is a poor substitute for love, and that young men often don't know their own minds. Beyond these truths (which we may without prejudice admit) the interest he arouses is a *particular*, not a *general*, interest. He fascinates us, not by his theories, but by the movement and colour of his narrative. Whatever fault we may find with him as a thinker, the magic of his mind and temperament remains to conquer us. Alert, vivid, spontaneous, various, humorous and tender, he gives us so much that even our criticism tends to be a form of gratitude.

GERALD GOULD.

Reviews.

The Meaning of Industrial Freedom. By G. D. H. Cole and W. Mellor. (Geo. Allen & Unwin Ltd., 40, Museum Street, W.C. 1s. net.)

For a Trade Union Party, 567,000; for the Labour Party, 3,815,000 (*Times*, September 7th). Such is the answer given by the Trade Union Congress at Derby to Mr. Havelock Wilson's proposal that the Trade Union movement should dissociate itself from the Labour Party; and, justly though the block system of voting may be criticised, few who have followed the trend of opinion during the last five or six years can doubt that these figures fairly represent the considered judgment of organised Labour.

Messrs. Cole and Mellor's *Meaning of Industrial Freedom* provides one of several possible explanations why this should be so. If the unexpressed thought of many, put into a word by Mr. Lloyd George at Manchester, that "comfort is the foe of anarchy," were wholly true, Trade Unionism alone might satisfy the working man or woman. But such books as *Industrial Freedom* challenge this comfortable view. The authors open with the words, "Socialism has become reformist through lack of imagination," and they add "reformism is the child of materialism." What they offer is a newer Socialism based on the conception, not of comfort, but of freedom as the people's real need. This newer—or Guild—Socialism is to be established, not by violence, but by a certain evolution. Craft Unionism is to disappear, its place being taken by Industrial Unionism, leading on to the "greater Unionism." "Great Unions" must aim at including not only the manual wage-earners, but also the salaried workers, clerks, &c., and even, wherever possible at a later stage, the actual managers and administrators, who are no less employees than they. They must fit themselves, not only to fight against their employers, but also to take over the control of industry. And, when the time is ripe, they must strike, not for higher wages or shorter hours, but for an effective place in control, and further, "The task of actually conducting the business must be handed

over to the workers engaged in it. To them it must belong to order production, distribution, and exchange. They must win industrial self-government, with the right to elect their own officers; they must understand and control all the complicated mechanism of industry and trade, they must become the accredited agents of the community in the economic sphere." Finally, "instead of the State recognising the Trade Unions, the Trade Unions would recognise the State." Unlike the Syndicalist, the Guildsman holds that "there is no need to destroy the State, it is like the capitalists' property, to be acquired and not destroyed."

This is the gospel of Guild Socialism, and although it has already a whole literature in miniature of its own, the little book before us is as lucid and honest a statement of it as any.

It is the place of the feminist to understand these things. At present the Guilds propagandist is on his trial: he has not arrived, and may never arrive, yet he has kindled a fire not easily put out. His conception of status, of freedom, for the industrial workman has come to stay. We speak advisedly of the *workman*, for the Guildsman has yet to present his philosophy of woman. But do not let the feminist blame him alone. Women are, many of them, citizens now: let them bestir themselves in this matter and do some original thinking and some vigorous organising. Let them add to the Guild's literature. There is room for several books as candid and persuasive as this *Industrial Freedom*, but written by women and showing why and how, in this or any other new Commonwealth, not only the comfort but also the freedom and responsible status of women must be assured.

A. H. W.

RECENT VERSE.

The Defeat of Youth and Other Poems. By Aldous Huxley. (Blackwell, Oxford. 3s. net.)
Clowns' Houses. By Edith Sitwell. (Blackwell. 3s. net.)
Dreams and Journeys. By Fredegond Shove. (Blackwell. 2s. 6d.)
Galleys Laden. (Blackwell. 2s. 6d.)
War the Liberator. By E. A. Mackintosh. (The Bodley Head. 5s. net.)

The sonnet-sequence which gives Mr. Huxley's book its title, recalls the greatest sequence (Shakespeare notwithstanding) in the English language; but whereas in *Modern Love* the reader learns—by flashes that are obscure to the intellect, but crystal-clear to the intuition—what it is (and it is a great deal) that is happening, he remains, at the end of *The Defeat of Youth* comparatively in the dark. It seems at first that unlike Meredith's "Madam" and "My Lady," the "he" and the "I" in these poems are identical; and, despite Sonnet xvii., in which "I said to him" occurs, the notion persists. There are, in effect, only two characters—a man and a girl. They love; he distrusts himself, hates his desire; they part; but what does the last Sonnet, obviously highly significant, signify? Has he renounced his distrust, his hate, "this friendship, this God"? Has he surrendered to passion, recognised his mistake? We hope so; because Mr. Huxley's angry fear of sexual desire is the least pleasant of his qualities: it is a little morbid. His response and reaction to the appeal of loveliness, the significance of small contacts and idle feelings, the implications of daily life, are sure and instant; the beauty and sanity and meaning of sexual passion is one of the few things which he denies or ignores. One is certain, however, that this reaction is only temporary; because Mr. Huxley's poems are in other respects entirely free of the monastic, ascetic taint. They maintain, too, the just balance between the analytic, self-sceptical, always recurrent mood of the intellectual, and the pure joy a poet knows in apprehending life, and translating it into poetry. That is why, when he cries:—

> "Must all love, then, turn to this?
> Was lust the end of what so pure had seemed?"

one believes that he is expressing a probably genuine, but not a fundamental or permanent, disgust; and somehow, the unconvincingness of the poetic inversion strengthens the belief. In "The Alien" he is even more violent, with the sincere but unnecessary violence of youth:

> "We seemed alone; but another
> Bent o'er you with lips of flame,
> Unknown, without a name,
> Hated, and yet my brother."

and, subsequently, the odious relative is called a devil and sent back to hell! Misunderstanding one's relatives is an almost universal pastime. Mr. Huxley's "Other Poems" are mostly clever, with the live cleverness of wits that clash sparks from the flints of existence, not the dead languid cleverness of poets who decorate flints with garlands of sonorous words, and spell beauty with a capital. Most of them hang together so well that to quote is to mar; but "Return from Business" is a good example:—

> "Evenings in trains,
> When the little black twittering ghosts
> Along the brims of cuttings,
> Against the luminous sky,
> Interrupt with their hurrying rumour every thought
> Save that one is young and setting,
> Headlong westering,
> And there is no recapture."

One of Mr. Huxley's contemporaries, Mr. Earp, cried impatiently:—

> "Life has been a cliché all these years,
> I will find a gesture of my own."

That is what this poet has done. But do not let conservative readers be frightened by the fact that his "gesture" occasionally, as in the poem quoted, takes the form of *vers libre*. To reassure them, "Inspiration" follows in full:—

> "Noonday upon the Alpine meadows
> Pours its avalanche of light
> And blazing flowers: the very shadows
> Translucent are and bright.
> It seems a glory that nought surpasses—
> Passion of angels in form and hue—
> When, lo! from the jewelled heaven of the grasses
> Leaps a lightning of sudden blue.
> Dimming the sun-drunk petals,
> Bright even unto pain,
> The grasshopper flashes, settles,
> And then is quenched again."

The War-Time Fire

IN this fifth winter of war the gas fire will more than maintain its reputation for convenience, comfort and economy.

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WOMEN WORKERS & THE FUTURE.—2.

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PRESERVING INFANT LIVES.

From time to time appalling statements are made about the excessive infant mortality. We are told for instance, that "a soldier in the trenches is safer than a child in the cradle." To those who are interested in this question, and especially to all mothers, the following facts should be welcome:—

Of 510 infants reared on Nestlés Milk, 498 were reported by their parents to be in perfect health in January 1916, at the average age of 2½ years.

A year later in January 1917, of 540 other infants reared on Nestle's Milk, 532 were living, and 522 were in perfect health, at the average age of 2½ years.

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For further particulars see

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Miss Sitwell *is* sometimes clever in the dead, languid way already referred to; her poems are always precious and almost always elaborate; and sometimes they are merely this: merely strings of rich, curious words; merely striking but meaningless processions which like

> "Black palanquins beneath a fateful sky
> Sway through the silent multitudes—pass by."

and then one is irritated. But sometimes she assumes a very becoming and careful simplicity, and then her poems please one very much. Of these "Strawberry Paths" is one:—

> "While dame and poppet, each frilled rose
> That in dark leaves lies close—
> Nursing her buds, will curtsey low
> To see me as I go
>
> "Upon the gravelled paths; my plait
> Escapes this broad-brimmed hat;
> My lips are like ripe strawberries;
> One little bird that flies,
>
> "Hid in a brown cloak with a tail
> Like some small nightingale
> Whose hidden name is "Love," would fain
> Peck them again—again."

This amiable young person has a sister, or at least a cousin, who in "Black Coffee" wore an "air-white muslin gown"—

> "My wide-brimmed hat was fluted like a shell,
> With paper flowers that tell
> How in my black hair hide two little horns."

Miss Sitwell has more affection for horned acquaintances than the "Dean" (p. 10); she prefers them infinitely to plutocrats, who among

> "Great mirrors green as lemonade
> Show tiers on tiers of gilded curls,
> Rococo profiles, rows of pearls."

Doubtless it is similar persons on whose account in a short and moving poem, "The Dancers," she almost breaks out into bitterness; in this the effect of horror is far greater than in "The Madness of Saul"; in which the attempt is made to produce an effect of horror by a succession of rhythmic resonant blows of rather strained blank verse—an unsuccessful attempt Miss Sitwell here indulges her favourite vice—wordiness: the effort to be impressive; and she piles up and on the words, the images, the sounds. It is when she is briefest, though still with her quality of preciousness that she is most taking, as in "Weathercocks," which would bring back to one, even in the midst of a London fog, the feeling of a day after rain:—

> "Like wooden bumpkins' sun-round stare
> Clocks seem in new-washed air:
> Bucolic round-faced clocks
> That laugh at pirouettes
> Of glittering weathercocks
> Each preening as he sets
> Clouds tumbling like striped coloured clowns
> Through all the far blue towns
> With thunder drumming after.
> A coloured bubble is the world—
> A glassy ball that clowns have hurled
> Through the rainbow space of laughter."

Miss Sitwell's gift of getting on to paper a delicious fragment of beauty is shown in "Déjeuner Sur L'Herbe," which we quote in full:—

> "Green apples dancing in a wash of sun—
> Ripples of sense and fun—
> A net of light that wavers as it weaves
> The sunlight on the chattering leaves;
> The half-dazed sound of feet,
> And carriages that ripple in the heat.
> The parasols like shadows of the sun
> Cast wavering shades that run
> Across the laughing faces and across
> Hair with a bird-bright gloss.
> The swinging greenery casts shadows dark,
> Hides me that I may mark
> How, buzzing in this dazzling mesh, my soul
> Seems hardening it to flesh, and one bright whole.
> O sudden feathers have a flashing sheen!
> The sun's swift javelin
> The bird-songs seem, that through the dark leaves pass;
> And life itself is but a flashing glass."

Mrs. Shove is one of those who instinctively follow Keat's advice: her fancy is always roaming; she is always setting out on journeys—hence her title.

> "The cuckoo speaks inside my breast,
> And what he asks I do not know—
> Am I to cast my spirit's vest?
> Am I to go
> Over the grasses to the rim
> Ot meadow world in search of him
> That knows no city vast and dim,
> And no unrest?

And the answer is "yes." Like that rare poet Edward Thomas she is "away somewhere, away for ever"; only unfortunately sometimes her heel-wings flag; she comes plump to earth, and writes dull stuff, such as "In the Churchyard," "The World." Like most volumes of verse, this one includes a certain amount that was not worth publishing; all but about a dozen poems, however, are charming. They belong to the Cambridge simplicity school of Mrs. Cornford and Olwen Campbell.

> "The sea-shells lie as cold as death
> Under the sea;
> The clouds move in a wasted wreath
> Eternally;

The cows sleep on the tranquil slopes
Above the bay;
The ships like evanescent hopes
Vanish away."

But this simplicity is in Mrs. Shove's case only a very little bit poetic convention, and a great deal temperament; she *is* childlike; she has something in common (though not a "twisted brain") with the wise child in her own poem called "Dreams and Journeys"; like her woodcutter she seems still to greet the world with "child's strange stare." She has that love of small things only a certain type of grown mind retains the rest do not even understand. In "Waking Dreams" she writes:—

"Sometimes I trace my childhood's path
Through Gloucestershire—the Cotswolds grey
And round and rough I travel through,
Stooping to pick wild harebells; they
Shake like thin lyrics, beautiful
Translucent heads, and make the sound
Of spirits talking underground
Rise on the wind.
And then I find
Those strange crisp stones,
Forked by the wind,
Fossils, each traced with delicate
Long, fan-shaped marks the hand of death
Cannot erase."

But despite its diction (which except for "formerly" is that of a child) it was a grown woman, fanciful, imaginative, but sorrowful and perhaps scornful, who wrote the "Desired Place."

"The rivers in the moon
To golden ice are turned,
Mountains are made of glass
Where formerly they burned;
May it come quick and soon
The time when earth shall freeze,
To make another moon
With frozen hills and trees."

Only one of the four authors whose poems compose *Galleys Laden* is worthy of notice: C. Doyle. Reading "To the Image Kuanyin" one wonders if C. Doyle is not some relation to Dicky Doyle, decorator of *Punch's* cover, illustrator of *Niente*, and creator of a particularly fascinating type of fairy:—

"Where
The Lady Kuanyin sits, the air
Is full of spray,
And there
It caught and damped her long black hair.

* * * *

And exquisite sea-girls
With curling hair that grows
Just in the shape of a rose
Turned upside down, all curls . . ."

"The Haunted Countryside" and "Clothes-Line" are charming, and "Lineal" carries one along with its impetuous unmusical rhythm. One wishes to read more of C. Doyle's poems.

The late Lieut. E. A. Mackintosh is one of the very, very few so-called war-poets whose verses are poems. Like some of the verses in *Counter-Attack*, a great part of their merit lies in the moral beauty of the comradeship that inspired the writer. The love which drove Mr. Sassoon "back to grope with them in hell" made Mr. Mackintosh cry to his comrades dead at the front:—

"Dear friends of mine, oh, cease your crying,
For I come back to you";

and this is true, too, of "Victory and Failure." In his recurrent phrases there is the monotonous but sweet wailing quality of Gaelic music (in "Three Battles: High Wood," a poem of twenty-four lines, the word "broken" is repeated nine times). This writer was certainly a "son of the heather"; it was as such that he figured in "Oxford Poetry," wherein the following poem, now incorporated in the poetic play "The Remembered Gods," first appeared:

"Are the gods forgotten in Morven of the hinds,
The beauty that slew men, the golden eyes that shone,
The gods that would be walking on the rocks of the winds,
That little men would die for the love of looking on?

"Are the gods forgotten in Morven of the stags,
The old gods, the fair gods, that were too high for love,
The white feet pressing on the grasses of the crags,
The black hair hidden in the black clouds above?

"The gods are forgotten in Morven of the glens,
The sun shines clearly, and gentle is the day,
Like snow in summer corries, like mist upon the bens,
The lovely gods of darkness are vanished away."

There, too, is the dying fall of music. Apart from this lyric, the play is too much an echo of Yeats. Perhaps the poet was most himself, not in the poetic drama, nor in "war verse," but in "The Ship of the Soul," in which he expresses an exclusive sense of being, like Edward Thomas, and like Mrs. Shove, always on the brink of some unique departure:—

"Others may find their loves and keep them,
But for us two there shall still be
A kinder heart and a fairer city,
The home and wife we shall never see.
Lost adventurers, watching ever,
Over the toss of the tricksy foam,
Many a joyous port and city,
Never the harbour lights of home."

E. B. C. J.

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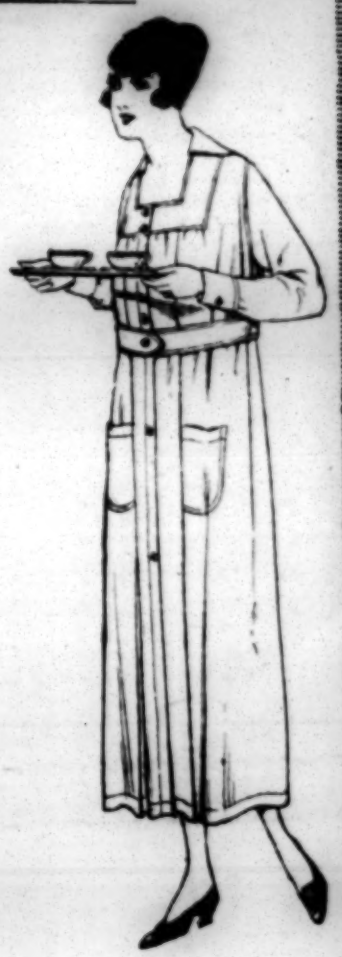

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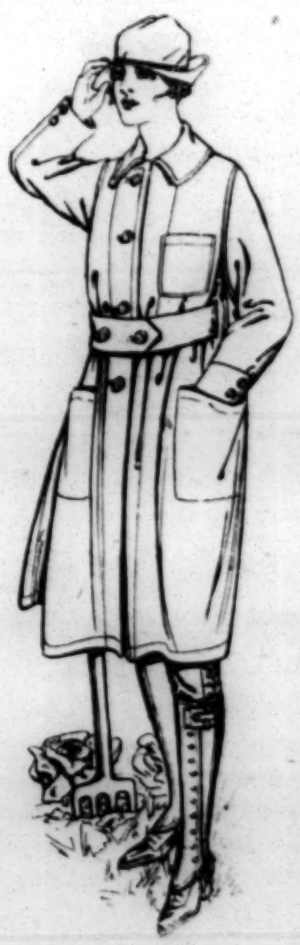

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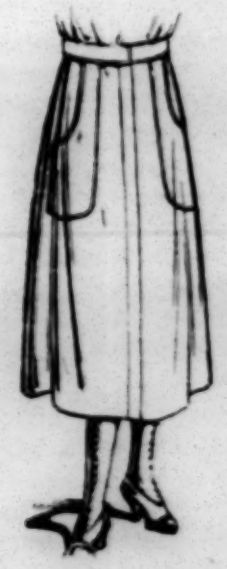

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Obituary.

MISS TALBOT OF MARGAM.

Miss Talbot, who died in London on September 21st, besides being a great landowner and an extremely rich woman, was a philanthropist. She provided two Y.M.C.A. Huts in Wales; she entirely supported the hospital for officers into which she had converted Penrice Castle; in 1918 she founded, at a large cost, a Chair of Preventive Medicine at Cardiff; she maintained a cottage hospital; and subsidised needy clergymen. She had a great love of the beautiful coast near Swansea, and would not permit its being spoilt with buildings. If there were any proof needed that women as well as men can be public-spirited, capable not only of initiating philanthropic schemes but also of managing estates and promoting their prosperity, Miss Talbot furnished that proof. She was a remarkable business woman; but this did not prevent her keeping an unremunerative colliery working, at a loss to herself, for the sake of the miners and their families.

MADAME LIZA LEHMANN.

The death of Madame Liza Lehmann, which took place on September 20th, has occasioned general regret. Madame Lehmann was a very versatile woman; she not only sang, taught, and composed, but she also did research work among old songs, bringing many forgotten treasures to light. Her setting of Belloc's *Cautionary Tales* showed her sense of humour; her sense of rhythm and melody are obvious to the many lovers of the cycle *In a Persian Garden;* the quatrain ending "Turn down an empty glass" gains a new significance now the musician who composed it is dead.

Correspondence.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PARISH PUMP.

MADAM,—I trust that the short article in THE COMMON CAUSE, "The Importance of the Parish Pump" will be well considered. It is highly important that there should be a larger proportion of women on local bodies. I hope, however, that the non-party argument will not be forced too far, because if a woman stands she will have to appear under a recognised flag or label and to all practical intents and purposes your only alternative to choosing a suitable candidate other than one attached to one party or the other is to choose mainly on the basis of social distinction, and on such a basis you cannot get all interests democratically represented.

Few societies have in any one ward enough supporters to give a candidate success, and as any politician of experience will confirm, an independent candidate has a very poor chance indeed.

No! It seems to me that it would be far better for all branches to call special meetings at which names of persons who are members and willing to stand should be submitted, and a ballot taken, and every candidate getting more than a certain number of votes should be proposed by the executive to their party, stating that if the Coservative, Liberal, or Labour Party would adopt such person, support, including a portion of the election expenses, would be given. Most branches could in this manner run at least one woman candidate with a real chance of success, and the larger branches could have one candidate for each of the political parties. The important thing is to get women candidates, and thereby hasten sex-equality and other reforms, but in some cases, where a well-tried male supporter is available, and the success of his candidature seems more probable, it will be best to make an exception.

H. M. THEEDAM.

NATIONALITY RIGHTS FOR CHILDREN.

MADAM,—I read with interest, in last week's COMMON CAUSE, that a deputation had waited on the Home Secretary on the subject of Women's Rights of Nationality. I should like to know if the question of the *Children's* Rights of Nationality was brought forward?

There must be many women, with British-born mothers but foreign fathers, who, though born abroad, have lived in England since infancy, have been to school and college in England, and have always taken a genuine interest in the welfare of the towns and villages where they live. They have no vote, no rights of citizenship, and some forms of employment are closed to them. With the war, they suddenly realised that they were *aliens*, and now go about with Identity Books in their pockets and reporting their movements to the police. Yet if they went to their *Father*land they would have no means of earning a livelihood, for they can neither speak nor write their "native" tongue—having always spoken their *Mother*-tongue—English.

Surely the children of international marriages should be given the right of choice of nationality.

ELSA P. ENGVALL.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

President: MRS. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

Hon. Secretaries:
MISS MARGARET JONES.
MRS. OLIVER STRACHEY (Parliamentary).
MISS EVELYN ATKINSON (Literature).

Hon. Treasurer:
MRS. ALYS RUSSELL.
Secretaries:
MISS AGNEW, MRS. HUBBACK (Information and Parliamentary).

Offices—Evelyn House, 62, Oxford Street, London, W. 1.
Telegraphic Address—Voiceless, Ox, London. Telephone—Museum 2668.

Headquarter Notes.

The N.U.W.S.S. Half-Yearly Council Meeting is being held at Birmingham (by kind invitation of the Birmingham W.S.S.) on November 27th, 28th, and 29th. The Council is called to consider, among other things, the position of women in industry, the election policy of the Union, and the relation of the Union to other organisations of women.

The National Union's Programme.

The following are the objects and programme adopted by the Council of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies at its annual meeting, March, 1918:—

OBJECTS:—

(1) To obtain the Parliamentary Franchise for women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men.

(2) To obtain all other such reforms, economic, legislative and social, as are necessary to secure *a real equality of liberties, status and opportunities* between men and women.

(3) To assist women to realise their responsibilities as voters.

PROGRAMME:—

I.—IMPROVEMENT OF THE STATUS OF MARRIED WOMEN.

(1) Parents to be Equal Guardians of their Children.
To promote legislation to provide that parents shall be the *equal joint guardians* of their children, each with the power to name a guardian to act jointly with the survivor.

(2) State Provision for Widows.
To promote legislation to provide *State maintenance allowances for widows with dependent children* or those incapacitated by age or infirmity.

(3) Nationality of Married Women.
To promote legislation to give British women the right to retain their British nationality on marriage with an alien, a right enjoyed by them until 1870, and to give them *the same right to choose their nationality as a man*, including the right to naturalise independently of their husbands.

(4) Enforcement of Wives' Maintenance Orders.
To promote legislation making more effective the obtaining and *enforcing of maintenance orders* on neglectful, cruel or dissolute husbands, with the possibility of making such orders a charge on wages when the man neglects to pay.

(5) Income Tax and Married Women's Property.
To promote legislation enabling *the income of a married woman to be reckoned as separate* from that of her husband for the purpose of *the rate of Income Tax levied.*

(6) Married Women's Property Acts (Scotland).
To promote legislation to bring Scots law into line with the law of England by abolishing the present right of husband to veto the freedom of action of his wife in dealing with their own property.

II.—OPENING TO WOMEN OF PUBLIC POSITIONS AND PROFESSIONS.

(1) Women M.P.'s.
To enable women to be *Members of Parliament.*

Fashionable
FUR COAT
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Seal Dyed Coney Wrap Coat, of finest quality skins obtainable and thoroughly reliable. Huge collar of double fur, a perfectly comfortable shape. 39 gns.
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(2) Juries, Police, Justices of the Peace.

To secure for women the right to serve on juries, and the immediate appointment of an adequate number of women as Policewomen with full powers to arrest, and as Justices of the Peace.

(3) Legal Profession.

To open the legal profession to women.

III.—EQUAL MORAL STANDARD.

Abolition of Law of Solicitation and Common Prostitutes.

Since law dealing with moral offences should be based on the equal moral standard not only verbally but in its effect, to work for *the abolition of the whole law dealing with solicitation and common prostitutes.*

Note.—It is sufficient for the purposes of preserving order in the streets that obstruction or molestation should be an offence, and that to prove a charge of molestation police evidence alone should not be enough, but the evidence of the person molested should also be required.

IV.—PAYMENT FOR WOMEN'S WORK.

To promote the economic equality of men with women.

V.—INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE POWERS AFTER THE WAR.

Women Delegates, Women's Suffrage, Married Women's Nationality.

To secure that the British Government shall

(1) include *women among the British delegates* to the Conference;

(2) instruct its delegates to the Conference—

(*a*) To press for the recognition by the Conference of free representative institutions with Governments responsible to the people, men and women, in all countries not already possessing them, as giving the best prospects of establishing a lasting peace and to urge that *a lasting peace must rest not only on the freedom of men but of women.*

(*b*) To urge that *all nations* should give women the right to *retain their nationality on marriage* with an alien and the same right to choose her nationality as a man, including the right to naturalise independently with her husband.

[We understand that the above statement will shortly be published by the N.U.W.S.S. as a leaflet for distribution.—ED., THE COMMON CAUSE.]

N.U.W.S.S. Scottish Women's Hospitals.

Subscriptions are still urgently needed, much new work being undertaken, and should be sent to Mrs. Laurie, Hon. Treasurer, S.W.H., Red House, Greenock. Cheques to be crossed "Royal Bank of Scotland." Subscriptions for the London Units to be sent to the Right Hon. Viscountess Cowdray, or to Miss Gosse, Joint Hon. Treasurers, 66, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.1.

	£	s.	d.
*Per Miss E. Rachel Jamieson, Organiser, S.W.H.: Staff, Caledonian Railway Co., Grangemouth, per J. Newlands, Esq. (£4), *Employees, Scottish Co-operative Society Soap Works, Grangemouth, per J. A. Penny, Esq., Manager (£3 14s. 6d.), Messrs. A. B. Fleming Ltd., Caroline Park, Edinburgh (£1), *Employees No. 4 Hoist Coal Trimmers, per John Nimmo, Esq. (14s.)	9	8	6
*Per Mrs. Robertson: *Employees, Messrs. Matthew Muir & Co.	1	2	6
*Per Thos. A. Patterson, Esq., local Hon. Treas., S.W.H., Result of 1918 Appeal on behalf of the S.W.H. in Liverpool	3,600	0	0
*"Ranfurly Club," Masterton, New Zealand, per The Manager, Bank of New Zealand, London	59	0	0
Major F. B. Dalrymple, per Miss Saunders	5	0	0
Major and Mrs. Paterson ...	5	0	0
David S. Crawford, Esq., for "Trinity Heroes" Bed (Royaumont), per Mrs. Young	2	2	0
*Per Dr. Francis Ivens, to name a "Vernon Booth" Bed in Royaumont, In Memory of an American Aviator who died in Royaumont	50	0	0
*Result of Lecture on "Serbia," at a small Village Flower Show, per Miss Gertrude Pares, per Miss Annie Lowe (Serbia)		8	7
*Per Miss Etta Shankland, Organiser, Greenock: Duncan MacCallum, Esq., to name "In Memory of Commander R. H. Llewelyn" Bed (Royaumont) (£50), *Per Miss E. H. Brown, to continue "Annie B. McNeill" Bed (Royaumont): Wm. Brown, Esq. (£10), Miss Brown (£10), Mrs. Wm. Brown (£2), Miss E. H. Brown (£1 19s.), Mrs. A. H. McLean (£1 1s.) (£25), Greenock Penny-a-week (July) Collection, for Greenock Ambulance Fund (Corsica) (£19 3s. 6d.), *Per Jas. McCosh, Esq., further 3 months for "Dalry Public School and Workers'" Bed (Salonica): Employees, Messrs. Fleming, Reid & Co., Dalry (£10 15s.), Employees, Dalry Co-Operative Society (£2 14s.), Employees, Messrs. Miller & Anderson, Ironfounders (£1 1s.), Employees, Messrs. Kyle, Aitken & Gardiner Ltd. (12s.), Staff, Dalry Higher Grade Public School (£1 0s. 6d.) (£16 2s. 6d.), *Workers, Messrs. Wm. Hamilton & Co., Port Glasgow, for upkeep of "Glen Shipbuilding Yard" Bed (Sallanches) (60th-64th donation) (£5 3s. 3d.), *Messrs. Hally & Co. Auchterarder, Sale of Paper Tubes, to continue "Hally & Co., Auchterarder" Bed (Sallanches) (£2 19s. 6d.)	118	8	9
Forward as per list to August 31st, 1918	361,226	1	0
Further donations received to September 12th, 1918:—			
*Alexander Cuthbert, Esq. ...	1	0	0
*Miss Helena Finnie, for upkeep of "Helena Finnie" Bed (Salonica)	50	0	0
*Per Miss Geraldine Cooke			
*Per Miss Robertson, for "Innerleithen and Walkerburn" Beds (Salonica): Part Proceeds of Garden Fete at Walkerburn (£25), Anonymous (6s. 9d.) (£25 6s. 9d.), "Free Gift Sale," per Wm. Smith, Esq. (£10), Miss Holme's Meeting, per Miss Forrester (£1 10s.), Keighley Patriotic Club, per Miss Walker (£1), Miss Wilson, per Miss Walker (£1)	38	16	9
*Anonymous (Royaumont) ...	25	0	0
*Falkirk Iron Co., per Mrs. Moir Sadler, Hon. Treas., Falkirk	21	0	0
Total ...	£364,812	8	1

Forthcoming Meetings (N.U.W.S.S)

SEPTEMBER 30.

Clapham—Clapham Wesleyan Church, Clapham High Road—Women's Own—Speaker: Miss Margaret Jones—Subject: "Duties of Citizenship" 3.15 p.m.

OCTOBER 1.

Bristol—5, Berkeley Square—Speaker: Mrs. Errock—Subject: "The State Endowment of Motherhood" 5.30 p.m.

OCTOBER 2.

Welwyn—St. Mary's Hall—Cambridge Women Citizens' Associations—Speakers: Mrs. Heitland (Cambridge) and Miss Mercer (London)—Chairman: Mrs. Wathen 3 p.m.

Lewisham—Evergreen Club (Soldiers' and Sailors' Wives)—The Mission Hall, Nightingale Lane, Hither Green—Speaker: Miss Helen Downs—Subject: "Women's Citizenship" 2.30 p.m.

OCTOBER 3.

N. Islington—Blenheim Congregational Hall, Hornsey Rise, N.—Young Women's Sisterhood—Speaker: Miss Ruth Young—Subject: "The Duties of Citizenship" 8 p.m.

OCTOBER 4.

Glasgow—M'Lellan Galleries, Sauchiehill Street—Chair: Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D.—Speakers: Councillor E. Rathbone, Mrs. O. Strachey, J. W. Pratt, Esq., M.P., Robert Stewart, Esq., Col. J. Denny, C.B., Miss F. Melville, M.A., B.D. 7.30 p.m.

OCTOBER 6.

Bradford—Franchise Sunday—United Public Meeting at St. George's Hall—Speakers: The Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, M.P., and The Viscountess Rhondda. Chair: The Rt. Hon. the Lord Mayor 2.45 p.m.

OCTOBER 10.

Hitchin—The Restaurant, Market Place—Cambridge Women Citizens' Association—Speakers: Lady Nott-Bower and Miss Mercer—Chairman: Mrs. Knight 7.30 p.m.

OCTOBER 11.

Stevenage—Small Public Hall—Cambridge Women Citizens' Association—Speakers: Lady Nott-Bower and Miss Mercer—Chairman: Mrs. Unwin Heathcote 3.15 p.m.

Coming Events.

OCTOBER 3.

Cambridge Women Citizens' Association—Small Assembly Room, Guildhall—Public Meeting for Women Only—Chair: Mrs. Heitland—Subject: "Women's Work on the Local Borough and County Council"—Speakers: Councillor Mrs. Keynes, Miss Constance Cochrane, Miss M. M. Allen (Higher Education Committee, County Council).

OCTOBER 8, 9, 10.

Harrogate—Annual Council Meeting of the National Union of Women Workers.

MISS MAUDE ROYDEN preaches in the City Temple, Holborn Viaduct, E.C., next Sunday, at the 11 a.m. service.

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MISS LUCY BELL, 10, Brunswick-square, London, W.C.1.—Single lessons or course; classes begin September 30th; debates and discussions on questions of the day, September 28th; terms and programme on application.

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Principals { G. S. V. WILLS, Ph.C. (Founder, 1874).
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AS ONE OF FAMILY; tend goats, pony; help housekeeper; modern 5-roomed cottage; happy home; salary £18.—Reddonwyck, Gt. Missenden, Bucks.

ORGANISING SECRETARY required in Glasgow to take up work towards the end of October; experience in suffrage work and knowledge of industrial and social conditions necessary.—Applications, with testimonials, to Hon. Secretary, Glasgow Society for Women's Suffrage, 202, Hope-st., Glasgow.

THE NATIONAL MUTUAL LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY are open to appoint women of good social position as Agents. Special Women's Branch dealing with Annuities and Endowments; special facilities for Women. National War Bonds by Instalments. Free Life Assurance no medical examination.—Apply Miss Rochford, 39, King-street, Cheapside, E.C. 2.

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